RRR
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The Neocon Wasteland

by Paul Gottfried

An essay that appeared in the *Weekly Standard* (25 March) by Frederick Raphael, a pornographic scriptwriter, exemplifies a favorite neocon tic, the lurking anti-Semitic danger in Christian civilization. What makes this essay, apparently on a work dealing with T.S. Eliot as an anti-Semite, particularly striking are both its place of publication and its indiscriminate choice of targets.

There is nothing unusual about seeing Christians attacked in *Commentary*, a magazine specifically earmarked for Jewish readers though one which also appeals to non-Jewish neocons (yes, they do exist!). Presumably those readers of *Commentary* who are not interested in the relation between the "crucifixion myth" and the Holocaust or about the innately anti-Semitic disposition of Germans will look past such tirades to other themes, e.g., pleas on why the State Department should bring democracy to the Saudis or to the inhabitants of Outer Mongolia.

The point is, that *Commentary* does not pretend to be other than what it is, a neocon house organ; and only someone just arrived from outer space would see it as anything else.

The *Weekly Standard* wishes to be different and advertises itself as a conservative news magazine, without mentioning ties to the "Jewish community" or to any specifically Jewish-neocon cause. Its intended readers are predominantly Christian, and, as may be inferred from its promo material, the sorts of people who view themselves as conservative.

Why then was Raphael's attack on Christian societies, which indicts T.S. Eliot as a pro-Nazi Christian traditionalist, printed as a feature article in the *Weekly Standard*? It can be argued that the magazine was only pointing to a danger that American Christians must confront as part of their religious-cultural legacy. After all, if anti-Semitism is as deeply embedded in the Christian West as Raphael suggests, Christianity may be a time-bomb about to go off and destroy Jews. This theme runs through Raphael's invective, which selectively revisits the history of Christian anti-Semitism since ancient times. Raphael treats the Holocaust as the culminating point in this history of prejudice, and demands "a repudiation of the whole language of Western thought" as necessary for "a complete rejection of what led up to the Holocaust."

The problem with such a historical interpretation, as I first noticed more than thirty years ago, are the missing links. Does the outburst of anti-Semitism in the High Middle Ages have anything to tell us about the treatment of Jews in nineteenth-century Western Europe or in twentieth-century America? Though it may, and though one may find a persistence of medieval anti-Semitism, the impact of that legacy grew weaker over time and in the case of most Protestant societies did not amount to much in the first place.

Continued on page 3

P.C. Watch

No, No Nancy

The San Francisco public library system refuses to carry any of the Nancy Drew books, despite a big demand for the girl detective series. Nancy is blonde, blue-eyed, and middle-class, and the library system focuses on "extending multicultural horizons" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5/7/96). For unexplained reasons, however, the system does carry the Hardy Boys.

Boning Up for Business

The South African Commission of Inquiry into Witchcraft Violence and Ritual Murder had reported on a widespread trade in human body parts taken from live victims, whose screams are said to ensure an increased efficacy.

"Belief in the supernatural runs deep in South Africa," says

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

Punishment—Capital! **4**
by Michael Levin
Drugs and Federalism **6**
by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.
Scoundrel Watch **8**
Public and Private **8**
by L.H.R., Jr.
Two Cheers for the Purges? **9**
by Greg Pavlik
A Tale of Two Terrorists **11**
by Justin Raimondo

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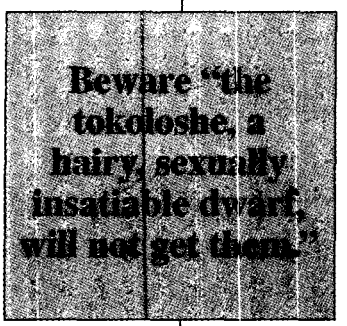
the London *Times* (5/4/96). For example, "blacks raise their beds on bricks so the tokoloshe, a hairy, sexually insatiable dwarf, will not get them."

"Witchcraft and ritual murder, hitherto confined to remote rural areas, have in recent years moved into the urban areas. Last weekend a man was arrested in Johannesburg after allegedly selling a pair of eyes to a police informer."



White are increasingly the target, since their organs are believed to be "more effective" because "the wealth was in white hands and whites were successful in business." For example, "a skull was embedded in the foundation of a new building to ensure that the business thrived."

Beloved Guests?

The Conservative government of Great Britain has removed the word "immigrant" from a proposed piece of legislation because "it is seen to have a pejorative connotation and could give rise to anxieties among minority communities," said Baroness Blatch, Home Office Minister (London *Times*, 5/3/96). "She did not suggest an alternative."

Historical Revisionism

"Forty-five years after America's last all-black regiment was disbanded during the Korean War, the U.S. Army officially admitted yesterday that it had been unfairly branded a band of inept cowards," reports the London *Times* (4/30/96).

The Army has "published a revised history of the 24th Infantry Regiment that pointed to long-overlooked acts of heroism by its 4,000 black soldiers, and attributed their many well-chronicled failings to incompetent, bigoted white leadership and years of racial prejudice."

"Earlier histories have told what happened, but this tells why," said historian William Hammond. The earlier version, published in 1961, "accused the black soldiers of succumbing to mass hysteria, fleeing at the sound of gunfire, abandoning weapons, deserting, and wounding themselves to avoid fighting."

The revised version "concludes that while 'the 24th Infantry clearly faltered in Korea, the race of its people was not the reason."

Teach Your Toddler Tolerance

Britain's Commission for Racial Equality has issued new, multicultural guidelines for teaching how to eat. Toddlers, for example, should be made "to understand that the use of chopsticks, fingers, or cutlery are merely different ways of eating and no one way is more 'proper' than another" (London *Sunday Times*, 4/16/96).

How About the Worm?

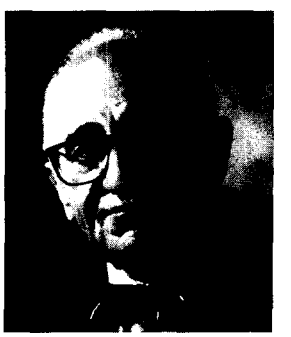
Members of the African-American Society at Emory & Henry College in Emory, Virginia, have demanded that the private Methodist college change its mascot, which has "racist overtones." The mascot, which dates to 1921, is a wasp, and can be confused with WASP, the acronym for White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, say the black students. The college's mascot must be "more inclusive" (*Washington Times*, 4/13/96).

Substandard

It has long been rumored that the neocon flagship (or canoe), the *Standard*, censors any critical references to its friends in letters to the editor. So Jeffrey Tucker of the Mises Institute, in a letter criticizing Irving Stelzer's statist call for more securities regulation (*Standard*, 4/1/96), said that the AEI economist—rather than focusing on the alleged inequities of CEO pay—"should redirect his policy-making smarts to paring down the excessively high salaries of economists at Washington think tanks." Sure enough, the sentence was excised with nary an ellipsis in sight (*Standard*, 4/22/96).

We Also Presume That All Neighborhoods Are Equally Safe

First we heard that crack, which somehow targeted minority neighborhoods, was being ignored in the drug war because of racism, points out Michael Levin. So it isn't ignored, and it turns out aht virtually all the users and distributors arrested are black. Racism! A federal appeals court agreed, before being struck down by a bout of sanity on the Supreme Court. Appeals court pinko Stephen Reinhardt had claimed, "we must start with the presumption that people of all races commit all types of crimes." Non-



Dean of the Austrian School of economics, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926-1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *RRR* is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.

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sense, said William Rehnquist. One race or ethnic group often predominates in a particular crime, as crime statistics show (*Los Angeles Times*, 5/14/96). ■

Continued from page 1

And are the anti-Semitic utterances of certain Eastern Church Fathers, such as John Chrysostom, on which Raphael dwells, essential for understanding *general* Christian attitudes toward the Jews? Such attitudes varied from country to country; even such staunchly Eastern Orthodox nations as the Bulgars and Serbs have no history of anti-Semitism. Though Luther wrote unkindly (albeit not consistently so) about Jews, such Lutheran people as the Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, and Finns have no record of persecuting Jews. Many Christians, particularly Calvinists, have also been philosemitic, and in the case of the Evangelicals, this attitude has spawned militant Zionist views, and support for the Israeli far right.

Raphael's attacks on Eliot illustrates the extravagance of his sweeping indictments. It can be shown that Eliot scorned Jews socially. Cutting depictions of Jewish nouveaux riches can be found in his poetry. And in *After Strange Gods: A Primer of Modern Heresies*, a book compiled from lectures given at the University of Virginia in 1933, Eliot complains of the cultural influence exerted by "some free-thinking Jews."

From these unkind but not entirely untrue references, Raphael makes Eliot into the personification of the eternal Christian anti-Semite. He associates Eliot closely with the French monarchist-nationalist Charles Maurras, who both supported the Vichy government and denounced Jews as foreigners in France. Though Eliot shared some of Maurras's attitudes, as did Eliot's mentor Irving Babbitt, about the defects of German romantic culture and the superiority of classical aesthetics, it is hard to find specifically Maurrassian connections in Eliot's published work. His *Notes on a Christian Society* show sympathy for a religiously integrated culture and, by implication, condemn ultranationalists.

The one reference in Eliot's correspondence (edited by his widow Valerie) to Maurras is unmistakably negative: it presents him as a hopelessly romantic political intellectual (28 October 1920) who does not deserve to be taken seriously. Though Eliot later referred appreciatively to Maurras's sociological understanding of a religiously traditional culture, he condemned his collaboration with the Vichy government as early as 1940.

Even less defensibly, Raphael depicts religious anthropologist Mircea Eliade as an "actual Fascist." The only evidence cited for this change in Eliade's few naive references from France to the presumed spiritual quality of the Roumanian Iron Guard.

Like other neocons Raphael cannot resist lumping together everyone who offends someone of his cultural background. This demonology is a constant feature in neocon publications. Germans, French Catholics, snooty WASPS, Southern Protestants, and Midwestern isolationists are all seen as part of an anti-Semitic monolith whose origins are traced as far back as the Gospels.

Germans, French Catholics, snooty WASPS, Southern Protestants, and Midwestern isolationists are all seen as part of an anti-Semitic monolith

It has been all the same history of concerted attacks on Jews, we are told, since the beginning of the Christian era, with the Holocaust as the logical outcome. If anyone notes a parallel between this view and the anti-white monomania of black nationalists, it is a matter of underlining the obvious. Less obvious is why a "conservative" magazine aimed primarily at Christians would publish these ravings.

Allow me to suggest three answers none of which excludes the others. One, the editors assume that their Christian readers are terrified of the anti-Semitic branding iron and will take Raphael's critical observations *in buona parte*. This assumption may be correct if the hypothetical gentile reader is a neocon or a theologically philosemitic Evangelical. And neither is improbable, given the types that frequent today's conservative movement.

Two, the *Weekly Standard*'s editors see their work as being one of reinforcing a neocon worldview in which the crusade against anti-Semitism has continuing priority. This crusade requires a constant involvement by the American government in the affairs of other nations, particularly those that might have negative relations with Israel or histories of persecuting Jews. And the pursuit of such a policy is facilitated by explaining to conservatives and others why anti-Semitism remains a serious problem—and how that problem affects those who oppose neoconservative interventionism.

Those who wish to keep American armies at home, *Commentary* has stressed repeatedly, have not come to terms with the Christian burden of anti-Semitism. And those in Europe and elsewhere who resist the efforts by global democrats to impose their values and policies exhibit a similar blindness toward the anti-Semitic past.

Three, the obsessive nature of neocon harping on Christian and

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Western anti-Semitism is exactly what it seems, a fixation. It is an uncontrollable outburst directed at a constant and by now weakened or transformed target, which indicates more about the emotional problems of the fixated than about their object of attack. Neocons have come far on remarkably little talent, and they have taken over a gentile conservative establishment without changing their social democratic colors.

The reason they have moved so far so fast has less to do with their intrinsic merit than the moral collapse of the once conservative movement they have occupied. But this almost bloodless victory has left the victors nervous. Those who rule what they still consider alien territory feel insecure about themselves and their subjects. They express their insecurity by lashing out at the heritage of ideas which now lies at their feet — and whose older defenders would have despised them as upstarts.

Neocons have come far on remarkably little talent.

Their special repugnance for Eliot (and for his admiring biographer Russell Kirk) is thus understandable from this perspective. Eliot would have disdained neocons, even if he had taken their money in time of need for articles they could bowdlerize.

Though a wimp anti-Semite at best, who will have been unlikely to fulfill Raphael's fantasy and to have become a prominent Nazi collaborator if Hitler had conquered England, Eliot was a snob nonetheless. He would have happily scorned the *Weekly Standard*'s editors together with the Australian press baron who mistakes his uncouth employees for aristocrats. And so they have gone after this decorous, dead WASP as the personification of a world from which neocons feel deservedly excluded.

Punishment — Capital!

by Michael Levin

The capital punishment debate is heating up. Because the Bronx DA has vowed never to seek death no matter how heinous the offense, the Governor of New York recently barred him from trying a carjacker who killed a policeman. Tim McVeigh and the Unabomber—the best-known post-O.J. suspects—will almost certainly face capital charges. Not that the average person cares what the American Philosophical Association is up to, but its actions are a good guide to liberal-elite thinking, and I am told it is ready to condemn "legal murder." (One of America's leading abolitionists is a philosophy professor, Hugo Bedau.). It's a good time for friends of liberty to clarify their view of the question.

As a rule, libertarians mistrust capital punishment because they don't want to cede government the power of life and death. However, once the state is granted the right to administer lesser punishments, it cannot be denied the right to kill. Consider that John Locke, nobody's idea of bloodthirsty, *defined* "political power" as "a right of making laws with penalties of death and, consequently, all less penalties." Why did Locke take infliction of death to be fundamental? Well, the state must be able to enforce whatever it commands, or it is a state in name only. The question then becomes how far it may go to overcome resistance.

If the state has no right to kill, and can press lawbreakers to obey it up to the point of lethality but no further, a lawbreaker can defy the state by resisting so vehemently that only lethal force will bring him to heel. Since the state can't kill him, it must let him have his way. Suppose I won't pay a speeding ticket. Agents of the state (hereinafter "the cops") come to my house to collect. I still won't pay. When the cops move to arrest me I pull a gun. At this point they can either shoot me or back off. With no right to shoot me the cops must go home, I have speeded with impunity, and the state has been rendered impotent.

Once the state is entitled to compel me, it is entitled to do so with lethal force, and once it is granted that right, denying it use of punitive lethal force is straining at a gnat. If you're going to deny the government the right to take life, you might as well repudiate government itself. Libertarians may see no problem here: just cut the Gordian knot and declare government illegitimate. Unfortunately, the basic problem of capital punishment remains. After all, libertarians are committed to rights and the need to protect them; their distinctive idea is that private enforcement, perhaps through contracting agencies, is more efficient than public.

But then the old question comes right back: How far can you or your agency go in constraining the behavior of a perceived rights-violator? Do you have the right to kill him if he won't remove his hand from your pocket? Do you have a right to threaten death for a grievous enough violation of your rights, and follow through? Can you transfer this right to your enforcement agency? Once again, it appears, all your other rights would be nullities without this "executive" right. So libertarians must deal with the same Clausewitzian axiom that leads to state-sponsored executions: the serious use of legitimate force must escalate to the max.

The issue is whether anybody,

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public or private, has a right to take life. Of the many arguments against this prerogative, the most common is that "death is different." An innocent man executed can't be resurrected—once a mistake is made, that's it. (Abolitionists who admit capital punishment deters usually take this argument to outweigh it.) *But exactly the same is true of incarceration*, the abolitionist's favored alternative.

A 20-year-old man is given a life sentence for a crime he didn't commit. Fifty years later the error is discovered and he is released. Now suppose that all during his life he values five years of freedom over one year of life; that is, he would trade death after five years of confinement for death after four years of liberty. By his lights, the fifty years behind bars have robbed him of ten years of life. Ah, you say, but the error is corrigible, for he still has life left after his release. Yes, *but it may not be enough*. He must live ten more years just to regain the years lost in prison; if he dies at 75, he has lost five years absolutely. As far as he is concerned, he would have lived longer had he been wrongly executed at 65!

The numbers in this example are arbitrary, but the basic point applies to just about everyone. Most of us would forego a little life (a week, say) to avoid a long prison term. That being so, "incarceration is different," and every innocent man imprisoned loses some irreplaceable life.

A second ploy popular with abolitionists is the cost and delay of execution. Right now it takes on average 12 years to execute a condemned man. The seemingly endless appeals process costs taxpayers more than $1 million per case. But executions are costly and time-consuming precisely because of abolitionist obstructionism—and it is absurd to oppose a policy on grounds of cost and then explain that it is costly because you oppose it. The abolitionist has been compared to a man who advises you that your watch is defective, and, when asked why, points out the glue he has poured into the works.

Next comes race; capital punishment is said to discriminate against blacks. Actually, liberals think everything discriminates, and that society should come to a screeching halt until this ubiquitous evil has been ended. Since bias-spotters see discrimination everywhere, their conclusions about the justice system—which they scrutinize closely and selectively—are a bit confusing. Especially harsh penalties for crimes involving the crack form of cocaine were once demanded to stop crack from "decimating the inner cities." When the overwhelming majority of crack criminals turned out to be black, these same statutes were condemned as racist.

Blacks are much more likely to murder whites than vice-versa.

Now, the abolitionist complaint about capital punishment is not that blacks are executed at a higher rate than whites, since blacks commit murders at a higher rate than whites, and in fact the ratio of black to white murderers exceeds the black/white ratio on death row. The complaint, rather, is that murderers of whites are more likely to receive the death penalty than murderers of blacks.

The statistical support for this is unimpressive. One study using data from Georgia for 1979-1982 claimed that killers of whites were executed 6% more frequently when type of homicide is held constant; other experts told the Senate Judiciary Committee (which held hearings on the question in 1992) that the discrepancy vanishes when other factors, like previous sentencing history, are controlled for.

To my mind a discrepancy as small as 6%, even if genuine, does not show that "society values white lives more than black" (a favorite liberal slogan), and in any case the discrepancy is best explained by race differences in temperament. No one denies that blacks are more impulsive than whites (although whites somehow get blamed for this), and blacks also appear to be less empathetic. The greater impulsivity means that blacks commit proportionally more non-capital homicides than whites—of family members during quarrels, of acquaintances in bar fights, and the like.

The race of the victim of such impulse-killings is almost always that of the perpetrator, so blacks are disproportionately often the *victims* of non-capital homicides. On the other hand, murders committed in the course of a felony are usually capitalized, and not only do black felons commit most of the armed robberies and murders in the US, they are much more apt to pick a white victim than a white felon is to pick a black victim. (3% of white crimes are committed against blacks, while half of all black crimes are committed against whites.)

It is not just that blacks are much more likely to murder whites than vice-versa, although this is indeed so: In Georgia between 1979 and 1982, when bias was supposed to be operating against blacks, 233 whites were murdered by blacks while 60 blacks were murdered by whites. (Since blacks make up 26% of the population of Georgia, this means that blacks murdered whites more than seven times as frequently as whites murdered blacks.) The important point is that lower levels of empathy mean that blacks are more likely to kill felony victims—out of a desire to remove witnesses,

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frustration at getting too little money, or bravado. Consequently, a white is more likely than a black to *be* a victim of a felony murder that carries the death sentence.

Ultimately, abolitionism strangles on its own internal contradictions. If killing is not so terrible that murderers deserve to die, then killing is not too terrible for the state—or enforcement agencies—to undertake. If killing is as terrible as abolitionists say, if it really is an act of boundless, unredeemable horror, the murderer has committed an act of boundless, unredeemable horror—in which case, one would think, he has lost his right to life. Abolitionists seem to take the position that felony murders are not the worst thing imaginable: executions are.

Liberals think innocent people, capitalists, and "society" are the true criminals.

I have avoided the topic of deterrence to focus on moral issues, and because, to my knowledge, the statistics are ambiguous. That the prospect of dying does deter seems pretty obvious to me, and if death penalty statistics don't reflect this, the delay and uncertainty in its application is probably why. What interests me most about deterrence is what is revealed by the attitude of liberals towards it. I'm not thinking mainly of those who admit imprisonment deters but deny that a swift and sure death penalty does (I'm not convinced anyone actually believes this), or those who don't care whether death deters or not. I'm thinking of the ones who confidently announce that "punishment doesn't deter."

This is one of those rare cases in which a popular opinion comes apart as soon as one thinks about what it means. A punishment, after all, is simply a stimulus that makes less likely any behavior with which it is associated. In economic language, a punishment lowers the value of anything it is associated with. It is the cost of behavior. So, *by definition*, a punishment deters. In other words, what liberals mean when they announce that punishment doesn't deter is that *there is no such thing as punishment.*

The only reason I can imagine for someone saying something so absurd is wish-fulfillment: liberals don't think it is true, but they would like it to be. The fact is, liberal abolitionists just don't like to see wrong-doers suffer. Liberals opposed to capital punishment usually offer life-without-parole in its stead. But then they bemoan the pointlessness of incarcerating harmless 80-year-olds with heart conditions, the expense of such incarceration, how three-strikes-you're-in laws are turning prisons into geriatric wards....

In his heart no liberal likes life without parole. He is not even for long sentences. Let a murderer jailed for 25 years (and preferably belonging to a racial minority) learn to read, and, if he has not killed anyone else in the meanwhile, liberals will demand his release. He could be a constructive member of society, they will clamor; keeping him locked up does no good—with liberals ever oblivious to the effect of releasing murderers on the future credibility of long sentences. It's true. Liberals think innocent people, capitalists, and "society" are the true criminals, and murderers their innocent victims. They really do think executing a murderer is worse than murdering a child.

Except, except... There is one argument which, while it will not get a liberal to endorse capital punishment, is guaranteed to disarm his opposition, as well as bring perspiration to his brow. And this argument has the added virtue of being only syllables long. I offer it to you: Tim McVeigh.

I've kept a careful eye out, and none of the usual abolitionist institutions—the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the ACLU, Susan Sarandon—has said word one about sparing him. He's white, he's sort of right wing, and he is not a victim of mistaken identity. As an experiment, ask any liberal of your acquaintance whether McVeigh should be executed. You'll see squirming, you'll see dancing around the issue, but you won't hear that McVeigh is "sick" and you won't get a flat-out declaration that he should be spared. That cri de coeur is reserved for cop-killers and child molesters.■

Drugs and Federalism

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

The drug war ranks among the most destructive federal programs. Not only is it expensive. Not only does it violate civil liberties. Not only does it allow the feds to abolish the remnants of financial privacy. Not only does it dramatically increase the frequency by which the feds seize property. Not only does it corrupt every big-city police force in the country and many rural ones too. Here is the most crucial point: through a complex change of causation, the drug war empowers the underclass and destroys our communities with crime.

I'm not going to attempt to prove this chain of causation here. In brief, in a free market, drugs would be no more profitable to sell than soap. There would be no par-

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ticular incentive for teenagers to overcome their natural laziness to peddle these things on the street. But thanks to the federal ban, the profits in drugs are sky high. Sell the right drug in the right market, and you can be rolling in dough.

It's been that way ever since Reagan was elected, and all the wrong people have made it big. In the cities especially, the drug war has practically turned the social order upside down. People who should be raking yards are tooling around in BMWs.

Without the federal drug war, there would no crack gangs lording it over the local integrated schools. Drugs would be a commodity like any other, restricted, according to community standards, like liquor or tobacco. The important point, as economists would say, is that the market would tend to drive marginal costs to equal marginal price, and profits would tend towards zero. Leaf raking could be more profitable.

But, gee, wouldn't the lower price induce additional consumer demand, and what about those people who might fry their brains? The answer to that depends on how much you think today's demand for drugs is influenced by price. Most likely, in markets for things like drugs, there are those who do them and those who don't. My view on those who do them: let them fry their brains. For the alternative is to make hoodlums rich, government more powerful, and communities more degraded and dangerous.

Libertarians have made these arguments for some years, and they have never been refuted on a theoretical level. But on a practical level, there's an objection worth paying attention to. Clearly some parts of the country experience a greater drug problem than others. Shouldn't drug policies be tailored to regional and community standards?

In some parts of New England, for example, drug use could be extremely high, but the social consequences might not be as devastating given the demographics of the users. The social effects of dealing and using are going to be different in San Francisco as versus Atlanta. The question is: do we need a single drug policy that covers the entire nation, as we have now, or should we end the central plan, get the federal government out, and let states and communities experiment from there?

The answer seemed clear to Ron Paul, candidate for Congress from the 14th district of Texas and the *RRR*'s political hero. He favors a federalist approach. The Constitution doesn't authorize the central government to run a drug war. Neither does it forbid states and communities from adopting their own laws on the use and distribution of drugs. In Ron's mind, the economic and political priority is getting rid of the destructive federal drug war, and returning self government to the levels of society that are closer to the people.

Contrast this humane and sensible position with the centralist solution favored by some libertarians. In their view, everyone has a right to take drugs. That means the federal government must protect and defend that right, not only by ending the federal drug war, but also by making sure that states and localities protect the right to deal and consume crack.

The Constitution does not forbid states and communities from adopting their own drug laws.

Let's think what this would mean in the concrete. If Auburn, Alabama, wanted to prevent its grocery stores from selling grass, under a centralist libertarian policy, the mayor could get a visit from Janet Reno. Now obviously such a policy is not liberty but lunacy and tyranny. What Ron proposes is not only consistent with the Constitution, but also with common sense, real-world liberty, and sound economics.

Ron gave some brilliant interviews presenting his position on this, and he received favorable reaction from many different sides (if not his opponents in the Republican and Democrat parties). He makes this difficult but crucial policy position attractive to average voters. But one group hit the roof and decried him as a sellout. You guessed it: the Libertarian Party. The party is even running a candidate against Ron and supporting this spoiler to the hilt—solely on grounds of Ron's alleged compromise on drugs.

Notice that this strict standard doesn't apply to any other area. The LP doesn't insist that its presidential nominee call for the immediate abolition of taxes, the Pentagon, or the welfare state. On these areas, the party tolerates and encourages steps in the right direction, sometimes even when it should be demanding larger leaps (e.g. on foreign aid). But, no, drugs, likes anomalous sex, hits too close to home.

Recall that Ron Paul is the most successful libertarian politician of the century, even when the "l" is capitalized. No one has done as much to promote and publicize libertarian views, or to put them into effect in the policy arena. The LP now has a chance for its former presidential nominee to be a sitting Congressmen, thereby bringing new attention to the party, and what does it do? Vow to defeat him.

How interesting that it's the right to drug use that sets these characters off. It reminds me of the old days, and why Murray and I decided to have nothing to do with the LP.

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But even I didn't foresee the "party of principle" becoming the party dedicated to keeping Ron Paul out of office.

P.S. After my article last month on this "Conscience of the Right," many of you wanted to support him, and called to ask for his address. Here it is: Dr. Ron Paul, 837 Plantation Way, Clute, Texas 77531.

Scoundrel Watch

The following Republican Congressmen contributed to defeat Ron Paul, the conscience of the right (see *RRR*, 5/96). Remember that when any of them ask you for money.

Dick Armey (TX): $5,000
Spencer Bachus (AL): $2,000
Bill Baker (CA): $1,000
Cass Ballenger (NC): $1,000
Joe Barton (TX): $2,000
Brian Bilbray (CA): $500
Mike Billirakis (FL): $500
Thomas J. Bliley (OH): $2,000
Peter Blute (MA): $500
John Boehner (OH): $2,000
Henry Bonilla (TX): $2,000
Bill Brewster (OK): $1,000
Jim Bunning (KY): $1,000
Richard Burr (NC): $1,000
Stephen E. Buyer (IN): $500
Sonny Callahan (AL): $500
Tom Campbell (CA): $2,000
Bill Clinger (PA): $500
Mac Collins (GA): $1,500
Christopher Cox (CA): $2,000
Mike Crapo (OH): $2,000
Nathan Deal (GA): $2,000
Tom Delay (TX): $1,000
Jennifer Dunn (WA): $2,000
Bill Emerson (MO): $1,000
Robert Ehrlich (MD): $250
Terry Everett (AL): $1,000
Harris Fawell (IL): $500
Jack Fields (TX): $2,000
Paul E. Gillmor (OH): $1,000
Bob Goodlatte (VA): $1,000
Mel Hancock (MO): $500
Doc Hastings (WA): $250
Jimmy Hayes (LA): $1,000
Wally Herger (CA): $1,000
David L. Hobson (OH): $500
Amory Houghton, Jr. (NY): $500
Nancy Johnson (CT): $500
Sam Johnson (TX): $1,000
Sue Kelly (NY): $500
Rick Lazio (NY): $500
Jerry Lewis (CA): $2,000
John Linder (GA): $1,000
Bob Livingston (LA): $2,000
Frank LoBlondo (NJ): $1,000
Frank Lucas (OK) $1,000
Buck McKeon (CA): $1,000
John L. Mica (FL): $500
Jim McCrery (LA): $1,000
Jim Nussel (IA): $2,000
Michael G. Oxley (OH): $500
Ron Packard (CA): $1,000
Mike Parker (MS): $2,000
Bill Paxon (NY): $2,000
Dam Schaefer (CO): $1,000
Steve Schiff (NM): $500
Cliff Stearns (FL): $250
Bob Stump (AZ): $1,000
James Talent (MO): $1,000
Billy Tauzen (LA): $2,000
Bill Thomas (CA): $1,000
Fred Thornberry (TX): $750
Bob Walker (PA): $2,000
J.C. Watts (OK): $500
Don Young (AK): $2,000
Bill Zeliff (NH): $1,000

Public and Private

by L.H.R., Jr.

The term "public sector" is highly misleading. It's supposed to refer to the government, that well-known public servant, in contrast to the "private sector," the greedy and selfish market.

But the opposite is true. In the "private sector," all activity is focussed on serving the public, people helping people get quality goods and services at the best price. A business that loses sight of its consumers is quickly outcompeted by one that serves the public better. The market is the true public sector.

On the other hand, government is obsessively focussed on itself and its private, internal, bureaucratic interests. It doesn't engage in productive enterprise, there are no regular consumers of its "services," it is owned by no one in particular, and it doesn't worry about profit and loss.

Government's primary if not exclusive function is to redistribute wealth from one group to another by force. The people, the very ones involuntarily funding the government, are seen as chumps and menaces, and used as pawns in social experiments and power grabs.

All this comes clear when you compare the way any private company works with, say, the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In the most recent outrage, HUD decided it should blow up its housing projects in downtown Baltimore and move the residents to pricey homes in the suburbs, at fantastic taxpayer expense.

This demented scheme—which will drive down property values, increase crime, and unsettle whole communities—wars against the public interest. That's why it's generated an explosion of resistance among homeowners in the Baltimore area. Especially peeved are new suburbanites, who worked hard to get away from the inner city.

Just who benefits from this scheme? Power-mad bureaucrats who see their mandate as tearing up the social pea patch, and the contractors and social workers who live off the ensuing destruction. These are private, not public, interests.

The market, in contrast, is the peaceful and fully accountable public servant. Capitalists produce houses and apartments for every social group. If we were sticklers in our use of language, we would say that the market builds "public housing," since its purpose is not to destroy, but to create housing options for everyone at the least possible expense.

Here's another example. Which is more anxious to serve the public: the government's mail operation, or the myriad of private delivery services? You don't have to be an expert to know. UPS and Fedex men toil with packages piled high, racing from place to place, competing to provide ever better service.

The U.S. Postal Service is so bad that it changed its name (it used to be the Post Office) and logo (from a mailbox to an eagle's head) to avoid ridicule. The service gets

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worse (I'm old enough to remember twice-daily delivery), the price always goes up (especially on business), and the whining never stops. Can we imagine Fedex employees complaining about too much business, as the postal people do during the Christmas season?

No, public service is not the Postal Service's strength. But it has mastered the art of lobbying. That's why, despite the blather about being "revolutionary," this Congress hasn't even considered repealing the unamerican laws that prohibit first-class mail competition.

Like all government bureaucracies, the Postal Service has no real owners, and most of its "customers" have no choice. The offices are so unpleasant that one of last year's best performing stocks was a company that takes your letters and packages to the P.O. so you don't have to.

So the Postal Service blows millions on ads designed to bamboozle. One new campaign claims it's "a very businesslike business." Why? Because it's so big, the 33rd largest "company" in the world, having moved up a notch after the Politburo was downsized.

Although the government claims that its private interests are really the public interest, it is busy destroying private industries that truly do serve the public. If the Justice Department brings suit against a business for "discriminating" against some privileged group, for example, it's as good as dead.

Now, Congress has called on the nation's tax-collecting public servants to share their jobs with non-government lawyers, so they can scarf up more private revenue.

Thanks to this perverse "privatization," a private-sector profession will be paid by a public-sector agency to loot private property for the private interests of phony public servants. Oh, for those simpler, better days before government ruined our language.

Two Cheers for the Purges?

by Greg Pavlik

There's been a lot said and written about the Soviet purges under Stalin. When the show trials were underway, there was a spate of commentary from the left in reaction to the almost clownish nature of the trials. There were denunciations to be sure, although there were not a few defenses as well. But what is even more interesting from a right-wing perspective is the effects of the Soviet purges on the right, as well as on the prevailing views of the neocon cabal which have been stamped on the face of Official Conservatism.

Anti-Soviet conservatives were often radically disconnected from the larger American society.

One of the immediate effects which the Stalinist consolidation had on the conservative movement was to drive many of those sympathetic to the cause of the Soviet state toward the right. The long term result was the transformation of conservatism from an isolationist movement into an internationalist one, dedicated to an activist foreign policy. The early *National Review* was more than a little top heavy with ex-communist editors and writers, including James Burnham, Frank Meyer, Whittaker Chambers, Willi Schlamm, and many other names familiar from the early history of the anti-Soviet movement.

There were other effects of repressive Soviet policies on the American right. Much of the early anti-Soviet movement was built around a core of emigre scholars. As George Nash points out, "In the early 1950s men like Gerhart Niemeyer, Stefan Possony and Robert Strausz-Hupe—all emigres from Central Europe—were becoming known as hard-line anti-Communist scholars."

While many intellectually gifted immigrants brought a rigorous and erudite philosophical component to American conservatism, their Continental affinities also intertwined with their recommendations for projection of U.S. power into Europe. They had little sympathy for the Framers' policy of neutrality in foreign affairs.

In fact, the anti-Soviet conservatives were radically disconnected from the larger American society. The ex-Communists were obsessed with a foreign ideology they had once been exponents of. The emigre scholars were horrified at the tragic Soviet takeover of Eastern and Central Europe, but had little to offer in terms of real insight into what it meant to be American, as opposed to European. Even today, the absence of old-fashioned Americanism is still apparent in the pages of the British-edited *National Review*.

While Stalinism in general forced a tremendous shift on the American right, the show trials and purges in particular were crucial to the emergence of neoconservatism. Many of the early neocons were immersed in Communist culture. Irving Kristol, for example, was closely identified with the Trotskyites. In the course of eliminating his rivals, Stalin also eliminated the support of the first generation of neoconservatives, who emerged as Cold War liberals, a spe-

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cies of horrifyingly statist ideologues.

The period was marked by strident anti-Soviet polemics from both the Trotskyite *Partisan Review* and the Menshevik *New Leader*. It was not until the social unrest of the 60s that the neoconservative moved sharply to the right, partly in response to revulsion over the counter-culture, which — as Murray Rothbard pointed out, threatened their positions in the universities—and partly due to the healthy isolationism of the New Left. Conservatives, unfortunately, welcomed them with open arms.

The show trials and purges may have been a sham, but wasn't there an ironic justice involved?

And although the neocons' ideological break with Marxism may have been genuine, there remains an undercurrent to their commentary on the show trials and murders of Stalin that betrays an earlier sympathy with the Leninist project. In some cases, it is unclear that those neoconservatives most closely associated with social democratic sympathies ever abandoned the ideological impulses that led them to embrace Leninism and Trotskyism in the first place; certainly none of them ever gravitated to either the isolationism or antistatism that was once definitive of the American right.

In contrast, those conservatives who managed to retain the central principles of the Old Right were smeared, blacked-out, and marginalized, first by the Cold War Conservatives of *National Review*, and later—and more viciously—by the neocon cabal. Neither movement could stomach a Frank Chodorov, John Flynn, or Rothbard.

A recent and typical manifestation of neocon empathy for the victims of the Stalin purges appeared in a column by Jeffrey Hart which was released to King Features Syndicate on March 4 of this year. While not a neoconservative per se, Hart has made common cause with the *Commentary* set on the issues that really matter to the neocon cabal. His March 4 column displayed clearly the sentiment that underlies the neoconservative slant on the Purges, an interpretation which has also taken a place of prominence in the pages of *National Review*.

The opening paragraph set the tone for the piece: "There has just died the extraordinary widow of a man of world-historical importance, at age 82 in Moscow. Anna Larina Bukharin was our last living contact with that 10 days that indeed shook the world, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917."

In his column, Hart paints Bukharin as a persecuted saint; a victim of Stalin, a ruthless man who betrayed his former allies. He also makes mention of the fact that "two years after the death of Bukharin, Stalin had Leon Trotsky, who had managed to escape to Mexico, killed with an axe."

The column laments the exile of Bukharin's widow and suggests that "some of these people have been tough beyond human expectation." True, and undoubtedly the young Anna Larina was an innocent victim of Stalinist barbarism, although she moved in the high circles of a criminal regime. But I can't help but wonder why a martyr has to be made of Bukharin or Trotsky in order to paint Stalin as a bad man. The liquidation of the Kulaks wasn't enough? I almost found myself waiting for him to defend the Soviet experiment "from the Stalinists, and in spite of the Stalinists."

Lost is the fact that Trotsky, Bukharin, and most of the others killed in the Purges were complicitous in mass murder, and all served a regime that engaged in the systematic extermination of whole classes of Russians under Lenin, including the middle class. The recent Volkogonov biography of Lenin reminds us of precisely how vicious the Leninist regime really was. The Stalinists were only following in the path that Leon Trotsky helped to blaze. The show trials and purges may have been a sham, but wasn't there an ironic justice involved?

Hart never defends Lenin and I doubt very much that he ever would. But let me illustrate the perversity of the neoconservative preoccupation with the evils of the Stalinist purges with a comparison. Who today gets weepy-eyed over the liquidation of the SA in 1934 during the Night of the Long Knives? Hitler ordered Himmler to use the SS to liquidate Ernst Roehm and much of the hierarchy of the SA in order to expedite his consolidation of the Nazi party-state by eliminating a fractious and troublesome faction. Among others, Gregor Strasser, a radical intellectual proponent of "Left National Socialism," was killed. Remember: Strasser, Roehm, and the rest of those killed could not be accused of the types of crimes committed under the auspices of the Leninist state.

The assumption, of course, is that those killed, particularly in the leadership of the SA, would have someday been involved in the crimes of the Hitler regime. Painting Strasser in a sympathetic light would be unthinkable. But that is the equivalent of showering adulation on Bukharin. In the neocon world, some kinds of mass murder have more significance than others. A lot more.

The inability to understand that the communist revolution was an enormity that preceded much of the state-sponsored brutalization in the

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twentieth century was also the basis of the infamous "Historian's Controversy" that embroiled the German historian Ernst Nolte some years ago.

Nolte, an eminent historian and former student of the existentialist philosopher Martin Heidegger, argued that the murderous policies of the Nazis were not only a reaction to Bolshevism, but also an heir to Soviet-style mass murder. This was unacceptable among neoconservatives for a number of reasons; in those circles, Nolte was quickly branded an "anti-Semite." The minimization of the impact and evil of the Bolshevik regime is not necessarily a phenomena of the left.

The Trotskyite line is simple: the Revolution was a high-minded project that went sour under the auspices of Stalin. It practically jumps out of the neocon commentary. It also misses the point entirely. The liquidation of whole classes is part and parcel to the internal logic of communism.

Part of the neoconservative inability to deromanticize the victims of the Stalin purges may be a reluctance to admit that an earlier affinity for communism was an affinity for a doctrine based on exterminationist tenets. In contrast, paleos harken back to an old America which valued individual liberty and peace. I wonder, which movement really started out in the "fever swamps"?

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A Tale of Two Terrorists

by Justin Raimondo

As a barometer of the political atmosphere in this country, observe the elite's diametrically different reactions to two accused terrorists: Tim McVeigh and Theodore Kaczynski. The former, along with co-defendant Terry Nichols, accused of bombing the Oklahoma City Federal Building, has been vilified by the media, federal prosecutors, and the President himself as part of a supposedly dangerous trend on the right that is said to include militia groups, talk radio hosts, and Pat Buchanan. McVeigh's alleged ties to militia groups (later proven false) provoked a storm of abuse hurled at the right, and a witch-hunt that is ongoing. Clinton gave us a preview of his 1996 reelection campaign theme by inveighing against the alleged threat of rightwing "extremism."

The Unabomber Fan Club has created a "Un-abomber for President" website.

On the other hand, consider the hero's reception given to Kaczynski, the "Unabomber," by the chattering classes. "I think of him as a misguided, very quixotic romantic figure of another era," said novelist and critic Joyce Carol Oates in the *New York Observer*. "I just feel I understand him."

The glamorization of the Unabomber caught on with the publication of his crazy environmentalist manifesto, which seeks to repeal the Industrial Revolution. It is only natural for our *literateurs* to lionize this monster. Sure, they "understand" him, the "alienated" intellectual misunderstood by society, a "genius" who went to Harvard and whose "idealism" prevented him from succeeding in life. The Unabomber's biography could easily pass for one of their own literary constructions, in which the sensitive artist hero is martyred to the brutal materialism of a heartless capitalist society.

While *bourgeois* writers and academics can afford to mythologize a mass murderer from a distance, the Unabomber Fan Club also includes his unreserved admirers, who have created a "Un-abomber for President" website. Their logo is a wrench between two cogs; at the tip of the wrench is a bright red star. According to Professor Robert Harrison of Stanford, the Unabomber's life and ideology can claim "a very, very long line in American thinking. It really goes back to the Puritans," he says, citing the American love of "self-determination." "What the Unabomber is talking about is in a sense the same thing. Only it's no longer religious."

But the canonization of the Unabomber is in fact the grotesque culmination of an explicitly religious impulse: his fans and fellow-travelers, including those who claim to "understand" him while carefully

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disavowing his methods, are neopagans who see in Kaczynski the first martyr to the cause of Gaia, the earth goddess.

This has always been the principle at the core of the environmentalist mythos: worship of trees, rocks, and rivers is the perfect postmodern religion. God is eliminated, along with such reactionary doctrines as Christianity. The earth is not a ball of rock floating at the edge of the galaxy, but a sacred being whose body we all inhabit, desecrated by humanity. All the shibboleths of liberalism are rolled into a single package: not only environmentalism, but also globalism and anti-capitalism.

Spiced with pagan mysticism and served up as a "we are the world, we are the children" hash, the elites find all this appetizing, and therefore cannot get enough of the Unabomber. Environmentalist Kirkpatrick Sale, on the talk-show circuit, says that "technology is overwhelming us psychologically, economically, socially. I think that has to be put on the agenda and talked about. And I think that's exactly what the Unabomber has succeeded in doing."

If anyone had made a similar statement about Timothy McVeigh, he would have had a visit from the FBI the next morning.

Not much is known about McVeigh's political beliefs, except that he and Nichols are supposed to be "anti-government." McVeigh is widely believed to have been inspired by *The Turner Diaries*, a novel that tells the story of a future race war in the United States.

Whatever his real views, McVeigh is hardly the sort to inspire the elites to adulation: a lower-middle class boy who had the poor taste to join the military, he too was a loner, but not the sort of loner lionized by cafe society. He, too, was "alienated"—not from capitalism, or industrialism, but from the *government*, which he allegedly (and correctly) blames for the Waco massacre. This, of course, is the kind of alienation the elites want to stamp out.

The villainization of McVeigh was and is just as inevitable as the beatification of Kaczynski. This in spite of the fact that the Unabomber's guilt is a virtual certainty: the original manuscript of his manifesto that was published by the *New York Times* was found in his sylvan retreat, and the physical evidence mounts by the day. On the other hand, the guilt of McVeigh and/or Nichols is very much in doubt and the circumstances surrounding the Oklahoma City bombing are shrouded in murk. Whatever may turn out to be the facts in the Oklahoma City case, at this point they are far from clear—and yet, the accused are depicted as monsters.

This is the moral of the tale of two terrorists: the trailer-park rightwing variety is evil, while the Harvard-educated tree-hugging brand is idealism, however misguided.■

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